/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

• 286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

## III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Chané SF8

/436 cont./

000 C 286 53 171 C 286 174 867 F-G 286 174 T 286 174 G 286 175 291 G 291 C C 286 177

animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kainguá /Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness of the several fabrics which have been collected among them. These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled. The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave, and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/ very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4



291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandyjú inimbó), pro-
[142] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

2: Schaden--42 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçal de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva): the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/40 cont./

292 293 [531] Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the kiá'ruahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 [126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1960 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.

[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the

[283] central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it

291 531 237 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-

[192] low and orange toucan (tîkî) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called

291 [114] ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imitation of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned

292 178 798 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

2: Schaden--45 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but ... [286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing [192] gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /42/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbüá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

2: Schaden--46 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/43 cont./

291 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koïnã) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿaï. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] [177] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[45] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[46]

## MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapéi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapéi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapéi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

The furniture of the *tapéi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[47] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

[45] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[46] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a certain [illegible] dietetic and curative virtue.

[47] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[86] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *cawaguaid* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *cawaguaid* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupí-Guaraní tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[87]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or lat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[88]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[89] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[90] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *xavakud*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembeta* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[86] Métraux, 1928, p. 130. [87] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[88] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guaraní women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[89] Métraux, 1928, p. 73. [90] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



*175 allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set
*177 to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that
777 which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men
apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal
[462] pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently
[286] following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the
[241] Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without
[62] permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with
spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes
and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave
themselves over to practising the old ways, particularly in matters religious,
this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be
punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers,
were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes
themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success.
[241] New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was
[233] made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the
[432] understanding of the Guaraní. Surpluses of maíz, hides, and agricultural crops
[439] were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative
*175 distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also
*177 because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated
648 and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow globes.
777 The Spanish colonists complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures,
*174 or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guaraní would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guaraní would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Gearnd SM4



*177 291 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "outside" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipoi* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the skirtless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 *178 • 286 291 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often cavaquoá fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.* In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild cavaquoá will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

*Cavaquoá* fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 824 283 239 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets and anklets. *Cavaquoá*, *pindó* palm, and *ubodaqui* fibers are the most frequently used today.

*178 881 304 The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initiation of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near Dulce. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never having been initiated. Their fellows tell them almost laughingly that [825] they are said to be in special danger from Jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 302 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South

* One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 X344 Courant X344



joint with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish drowning methods and fish poisons, chiefly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquaqüi in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[32] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[32] "Changa" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In northern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the connotation of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Wallace E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Rbd4 Gumwood Rbd4



work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors enabling [illegible] culture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 192 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. a.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal homework. 179* 182 439 [519] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of reeds for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. a.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-6.5 (1942) 1952 Ehrt General Ehrt



*199 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must largely have emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*199 But certain Cayuá craft activities themselves constituted a gallery for the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills.
439 Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strikers or
285 whitewers and ornamental basketwerks, for example, are in some demand. Items traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods substitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian
* 286 market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—values (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentration remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*199 II. A. a. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods *or* for money, or in terms of it.
464 (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact
648 between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa* are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá
439 learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *changa*. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá service before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

3: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 3344 Guarani 3344



canoes. They grapel these craft with palm. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

Carrying devices.—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Puff* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark strips were closely interwoven with fine cord indistinct. The *Guaraní* skin bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

Spinning and weaving.—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

Pottery.—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "greques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

Leather work.—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

Weapons.—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaibwi (*Patagonula americana*), or ibvira payé, ibvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)